UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

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Francis Neilson Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

Prohibition

By JESSE H. HOLMES

Charles Hyacinth Loyson

By GEORGE LINNAEUS THOMPSON

Indian Troops for China

By SUDHINDRA BOSE

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Part II, Chapter XXIX. By M. K. GANDHI

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIX MONDAY, APRIL 4, 1927 NUMBER 5

TEN YEARS AFTER THE WAR
1917—1927

[A letter recently addressed to David Starr Jordan]

On the first Sunday in April, 1917, you were standing on the stage of the Academy of Music in Baltimore, Maryland, making—before the Baltimore open forum—a protest against the impending participation of this country in the European war. You were interrupted and the meeting broken up by the sudden violent entrance of a mob which had burst through the cordon of police outside the theatre. I was the leader of this mob which succeeded in rendering your appeal unavailing.

This event took place nearly ten years ago. I was at that time twenty years old. I have tried to recall what motivated my action on this occasion. At twenty, one is mature and presumably motivated by reason.

Much has happened during those ten years. I spent part of them overseas and saw something of the actuality of war. And now I find it impossible to recall any definite thought which motivated me in leading that excited horde through the police and down the aisle of the Academy of Music.

With the best possible will to reconstruct the episode I can recall no reasoned conviction individually held by me. I begin to see clearly that I was but an unreasoning part of a class, a city, a state, a nation. . . .

You were not successful in your appeal. Seventy thousand youths were killed in the struggle which came despite your endeavors. I saw many of those youths die. By sea and on land I saw their agonies, their miseries, their racked and mangled bodies. I happened to escape their fate. . . .

It was not pleasant for you to be subjected to that experience on that Sunday evening so long ago. It is not pleasant for me to recall that I ever permitted myself to be urged on to such an unreasoning and unreasoned act.

At least you will permit me to tell you that I know now, what you knew then; that you were guided by the nobility of human reason and that I was under the spell of an artificially engendered hysteria of that type which always has and always will militate against individual and social well-being until all men burst free from the aggressive totems and taboos of class and creed and tribe and emerge into the freedom of individual reason.

I do not apologize to you, sir. No apology is possible for such an act. I assure you only, that experience and maturity have brought me the poignant realization that on that Sunday evening so long ago, you were motivated by the principles of civilization, while I was motivated by the passions of barbarism. —*Carter G. Osburn, Jr.*

UNITY is published in Chicago, and therefore is interested in Chicago affairs. Just now it is interested in a municipal election in that city which seems to involve such little honor and decency as still are left in the great metropolis by the lakes. On the one side is a Democrat, Mayor Dever, who is an honest if not a brilliant man, who has given Chicago a respectable if not a wonderful administration. On the other side is a Republican, the notorious ex-Mayor Thompson, a man of personal power, but a demagogue of the first order, a master of corrupt political devices, a panderer to all the lower orders of vice and crime which lurk in the hidden corners of every great city. Chicago seems still to be in the stage of social development from which many others of our municipalities have escaped. Its politics today sound like the politics of New York in the days of Van Wycke and Cincinnati in the days of "Boss" Cox. These and other cities, however corrupt they still may be in hidden ways, have somehow learned the lesson of what Mayor Gaynor used to call "outward decency and order." But Chicago is still utterly shameless. Its dens of vice, its gangs of gunmen, its corrupt attorneys and judges are the scandal not only of the nation but of the world. Natural is it, therefore, to find the city engulfed in a mayoralty election in which the only issue is that of decency. Thompson is up to all his ancient tricks; he has the support of every "under-world" influence in the town; he is bagging great hosts of voters—Negroes, for example, who ought to know better—on specious pleas of public recognition and official favor. Dever has the usual array of enemies made by any man who tries to give a city an honest administration. But we can as little believe that the former will win as that the latter can lose. Even in Chicago there must be a basic sense of public honor which will save the city from the horror of another Thompson government.

We learn from Mr. Frederick J. Libby's invaluable *News Bulletin*, published by the National Council for Prevention of War, that the War Department is "announcing plans for a great military demonstration on the Mexican border to take place next May." We are a fairly careful reader of the daily press, yet we have seen no mention of these "plans" which are obviously of the most momentous importance. For they constitute, at a most critical time, a provocative gesture which is inexcusable. More and worse than this, they mark what is invariably the first step in the business of *war*. What are the preliminaries to hostilities in a case

like that of Mexico? First, concentration of troops on the Mexican border; secondly, severing of diplomatic relations; thirdly, lifting of the embargo on arms in order to encourage revolution in Mexico. It is the first step which the War Department is now undertaking, with what must be the full consent of the State Department and the White House. Is the second step also preparing? We do not know, for the State Department does what it pleases, and refuses to allow American citizens to know what is going on. But a fortnight or so ago, a note was dispatched to Mexico City which no less a paper than the *New Republic* declares "there is some reason to believe . . . was so stiff in its terms as to constitute a virtual ultimatum." The situation looks bad. Doheny, discredited utterly in this country, is still a mighty power across the border, and apparently has Coolidge and Kellogg safely in his oily grip. It was weeks ago that we stated in these columns that danger would be right at hand in this Mexican affair when Congress adjourned and its members scattered. Every bit of news from Washington these days indicates that this prophecy was correct. Nothing but the presence of Senator Borah at the capital gives us any hope. Like the watchman on the tower, in Ezekiel, he can be counted upon to "blow the trumpet and warn the people, when he seeth the sword coming upon the land." Meanwhile, it is a fearful thing to realize that we are being betrayed not by enemies abroad, but by our chosen leaders in our own national household.

Slowly the significance of the Supreme Court decision in the Doheny case is sinking into the public mind. Already anticipation is keen and confident of the Supreme Court's pending decision in the Sinclair case. It seems certain that Teapot Dome will go the way of Elk Hill—back into the hands of its rightful owner, the United States Government, from which it was taken by a conspiracy of fraud. This was the way these oil men got their oil lands right here in America! Now just ask yourself the question, on the basis of the law of probabilities, as to how these same oil men got their oil lands in Mexico! Why talk about probabilities in such a case? If certainties exist anywhere, do they not exist here in dealings between millionaire business magnates and the old pre-revolutionary Mexican regime? If Doheny was able to handle the Harding cabinet successfully in fraud, and thus secure title to lands which was as worthless legally as it was disgraceful morally, what do you imagine he was able to do with the officers of government in Mexico City? And if the Mexican cases came before Mexican courts or an international tribunal for adjudication, as the Elk Hill and Teapot Dome cases came before the U. S. Supreme Court for adjudication, what chances do you think the oil men would have of proving their claims? All in all, there seems very good reason indeed why President Coolidge has set his face against President Calle's offer of arbitration. But there seems no reason at all, either good or bad, why American citizens should be asked to take up arms and fight and die in a war against Mexico for Doheny and his rotten claims. The Supreme Court decision has come just in time. If a Mexican war breaks out, it will be the vilest war of modern times, which is saying a good deal. It will also be the most unpopular war. It is for this reason, and because we think Calvin Coolidge knows which side his political bread is buttered on, that we are still of a good hope in the matter of the Mexican troubles. The situation is bad, but it might be worse.

After Texas, Louisiana! After disfranchisement, segregation! Again the Supreme Court of the United States has struck a mighty blow for the rights of Negroes and thus for the essential integrity of our American democracy. Within a week after declaring that the Texas law barring all blacks from the state primaries was unconstitutional and therefore null and void, the Court handed down a second decision rendering equally null and void, on the same final ground of unconstitutionality, the Louisiana law on segregation. This law was interesting. It made it unlawful, on the sole ground of race and color, for a white man or a colored man to establish a home on any property in a Negro or a white community, unless he obtained the written consent of a majority of the residents of the opposite race. As in the case of the famous Louisville Act, killed by the Supreme Court in 1917, this Louisiana law looked irreproachable on the face of things. It applied both ways, didn't it? Nothing could be fairer than that. But its inner and central purpose was obvious enough—to shut the Negroes tight and fast in their own over-crowded neighborhoods, and thus establish ghettos in our American cities and towns. The Supreme Court ended that sort of thing ten years ago in Louisville, and now it ends it in New Orleans and other cities in Louisiana. "All segregation laws, designed to bar the Negro from white communities," says the New York *World*, "look alike to the Supreme Court of the United States." They do indeed. It is certain that this last decision ends segregation in this country for good and all. All subterfuges have proved vain. Laws cleverly written by expert lawyers, and solemnly declared to be constitutional by local and state courts, have been one after another swept aside by Washington. The end has come. All of which means that the Supreme Court has its uses, after all! A few more decisions like these two on Negro disfranchisement and segregation, and we shall be wholly reconciled to the rule of that august tribunal.

The jury system is not sacrosanct. It is now on trial, as we have said before in these columns. Its place in modern systems of jurisprudence does not seem so secure as it did during the early triumphs of

democracy. Does democracy stand or fall with the jury system? The social conditions which brought the jury into being as a defense of the common man against oppression have disappeared. The foe of justice against whom the jury proved a worthy champion has been routed. He has been so far worsted that it is difficult or impossible for the modern citizen to understand the society which he dominated. He snapped his fingers at public opinion. Indeed, he needed not to put himself to that inconvenience, for there was no recognizable public opinion for him to regard with either fear or contempt. The jury system has been going lame this long time. Perhaps democracy will soon be convinced that as an instrument of justice it has worn out. Under present conditions of general intelligence, with the newspapers on the job day and night, it is impossible to secure even average intelligence in juries. Third rate lawyers can play upon the ignorance and prejudice of the only type of citizen who can be admitted to juries chosen to sit on notorious cases. The very safeguards against prejudice in an earlier day are now an assurance of prejudice. Citizens of the intelligence required to "keep up with the times" are usually automatically barred from jury duty; they know too much. It has so far been impossible to convict our most notorious criminals. There can be no question but that there was grave injustice to the community in the oil dealings during the Harding administration. But juries are unable to find anybody responsible for them. The only legal machinery so far found for protecting the community has been federal judges who got at the facts and rendered decisions without the help of juries.

One hundred years ago, on the 27th of March, 1827, died Ludwig van Beethoven. Two hundred and fifty years ago, on February 21, 1677, died Baruch Spinoza. Wherever men reverence greatness of achievement and greatness of spirit, the world has been commemorating these two notable anniversaries. Beethoven and Spinoza were far apart in character and temperament—the one stormy, passionate, unhappy amid the recognition and applause of his contemporaries, the other serene, gentle, blessed amid persecution and neglect. But both were among the few titanic souls of all time—Beethoven like the sea in its tremendous moments of huge laughter or tempestuous wrath, Spinoza like the mountains in the sublime grandeur of their lift to the eternal spaces of the heavens. Beethoven, of course, is known to multitudes, where Spinoza is known only to a chosen few. The great musician's Fifth Symphony, like the Parthenon or the Sistine Madonna, is one of the most familiar as it is one of the most priceless possessions of mankind. His other symphonies, his pianoforte sonatas, his overtures, even his one opera "Fidelio," and his Solemn Mass, are only less familiar. But in his later days Beethoven's spirit, from the sheer glory of its inward communings with things infinite, began to outsoar the spaces of our earthly life. His later sonatas and quartets point us to levels which most of us never reach, and the Ninth Symphony reveals a spirit wrestling with cosmic forces we do not feel and cannot know. On these far heights which Beethoven thus stormed and captured in his last moments of climatic ecstacy, the quiet Spinoza lived. This was his habitat. Here he lived without struggle, fret or fury, and from this "calm serene," to quote Keat's phrase, he rained down truth upon mankind. Beethoven's influence is like that of giant monuments reared high among us; Spinoza's influence is like an atmosphere which now we breathe in health of mind and purity of soul. Beethoven's supremacy among musicians may be disputed by Bach, or even Wagner; Spinoza's supremacy among modern philosophers by Kant, or even Descartes. But both are without rivals as men. Match them if you can for sheer sublimity of spirit!

Prohibition

The writer of this paper has had opportunity to see the entire course of the "temperance" movement, from the stage when it was no more than an effort to induce men to abstain from the use of intoxicants to the present prohibition of their manufacture, sale, and transportation. The great mass of our population knows nothing of the early part of this movement and a large proportion have lived under prohibition all or most of their lives. All these, and others who easily forget, are particularly easy marks in the campaign of falsehood, misrepresentation, and hypocrisy which is being carried on today, with intent to make us believe in the method of nullification as the proper means of modifying our laws.

It should be remembered that it was no matter of a desire to interfere with personal liberty that drove the people of this country into the fight against the liquor business. On the contrary there was the greatest unwillingness on the part of the temperance leaders of the '70s to make the movement in any way a political or legal one. That was the time of total abstinence "revivals." These were prepared for, advertised, and carried on, in very much the fashion of the old fashioned church revival, or even the modern "Billy Sunday" affair. I remember a typical sample held in a big river town in Iowa. A large hall or theatre, seating thousands, was engaged, handbills were distributed, pictures showing the horrors of drunkenness and posters giving statistics of the cost and consequences of the liquor business appeared in store win-

dows; the churches,—some of them,—advertised the coming meetings, and all the usual methods were employed to create excitement and to bring out an audience. And the audience came,—came prepared to shout, to pray, to sign pledges, and to listen to exciting and arousing speeches of the genuine revivalist type. There was not much argument, incident after incident, the story to raise a laugh or to raise your hair, the appeal, interruption and witty response, the sudden burst of song, all these combined to make vivid the miserable conditions involved in the support by the wage earners of numberless saloons while their wives and children shivered and starved. But although the appeal was sensational it dealt with no merely fanciful condition. As one went home with his nerves a-tingle he might pass a score of noisy saloons not without some danger from the drunken rows which were common; and as he passed out into the residence parts he might well pass many of the hovels he had heard described, or see the wives and children of drunkards often very easy to recognize. In all this our speakers were nearly sure to warn us against all political methods and urge us to put the whole thing through on the basis of moral suasion.

But,—and here is the feature now so easily overlooked,—we were not dealing merely with a depraved appetite for stimulants, but with an organized business out for profits, and wholly indifferent to the methods used in getting them. Restrictions were found necessary as a matter of police regulation. The saloon was a crime center, a vice center, a danger center, and could not be treated as other businesses were treated. That it was also a social center only made it more dangerous, for the social advantages offered were conditioned on the acquiring of the drink habit without which one was not welcome in the saloon. And it soon appeared that society was dealing with an essentially criminal business. It never obeyed the laws made to regulate it, and it constantly made use of criminals and criminal practices in extending the business and in attacking those who tried to check the evils inherent in it. It corrupted our courts, our police, our legislatures; it increased our taxes, it rendered our streets unsafe, it encouraged prostitution, and became more and more a public nuisance.

We are hearing now that there is no desire to revive the open saloon, that what we want is a state regulated supply of intoxicants carefully watched and guarded against all attendant evils. We of the older generation know that every plan that the mind of man could conceive, to leave the personal liberty to drink and at the same time to protect the public in life, health and property, has been tried and tried to the limit. High and low license, state control, limitations of every kind as to place, and time, and condition, and amount of purchase and sale have been tried and have been found to be failures, because those engaged in catering to depraved appetites on the one hand and those having those appetites on the other are always ready to violate any law in order to carry on.

Those opposed to the saloon turned very reluctantly to prohibition of the trade as the only possible remedy for an intolerable situation. If there had been any way to allow men the personal liberty to drink intoxicants without allowing a great business machine for creating this drug habit everywhere,—a powerful and wealthy institution to push it among the children; if it had been posssible to carry it on without endangering every traveler, and threatening every home,—I believe that way would have been adopted. But it has not been found possible. And the pronouncements of the advocates of "personal liberty" show us what we may expect if we try over again the ineffective plans they now propose, as if they were new and original. For they openly advocate the violation of our laws, even of our constitution! Just as they have always been law breakers so they are law breakers now. I am far from saying that there are no conditions under which men should break laws. Indeed I believe that under some conditions the noblest protest a man can make is to openly violate law and take the consequences in the interest of the general good. So only in times of indifference, or perhaps of excitement, may the public arouse to certain forms of injustice. I should have respect for the advocates of freedom to drink if they should publicly violate the law and go to jail or pay their fines; but such is not their plan. On the contrary we find them corrupting public officials, urging the nullification of our laws, and encouraging general lawlessness merely in the interests of their appetites. There is no loyalty to principle in a sneaking evasion of law, to gratify personal desire.

It is not true that prohibition is not a success. The open saloon has disappeared. One can go in and out of our great cities and not see a drunken man for months at a time. Last summer I spent a day each in over eighty towns extending from North Carolina to New York; and in all that time I do not remember to have seen a single drunken man, and friends who traveled with me had like experience. Even in New York a drunken man on the streets is a very rare sight, and the arrests of first offenders for drunkenness has decreased to one-third of what it was before prohibition. Perhaps among the wealthy criminals without whom the bootleggers could not ply their trade, there is more drunkenness than in earlier years; but society can better spare them than the many who would die of the drink if the old "personal liberty" were restored.

It is probably true that the 18th amendment is rather legislation than constitutional material. It may be it would be better if it had merely granted to Con-

gress the power to deal with a problem too hard for the states. But it is a matter for the nation. The states did try to deal with it and 95 percent of our territory and about 70 percent of our population was under prohibition before the amendment was passed. But from the citadel of that 5 percent of territory the liquor criminals did their best to nullify the laws of the prohibition states. We now face the last conflict. It has come to this,—shall the criminal business which defied the efforts of the crusaders, which laughed at local attempts at control, which overrode the laws of the states,—shall it with its allies, the slaves of drug appetites, defy and reverse the constitution of the United States and the laws of its Congress. Even if these should be changed they should never be changed because of the demand of this law breaking gang of rebels. Let them first obey the law, and then,—not till then,—let them appeal to the principles of the great state document which they now defy.

JESSE H. HOLMES.

Jottings

Two of the most widely read weeklies in this country—*Liberty* and the *Saturday Evening Post*—are doing their utmost to embroil the United States in a war with Mexico. And their "utmost" is a good deal! Take all the circulation of UNITY, and the *Nation,* and the *New Republic,* and the *Christian Century,* and such like together, and they would not total one one-hundredth of one per cent of the circulation of these two weeklies. What are truth and right going to do in such a situation?

Thirty-eight students have been expelled from the University of Minnesota for evading military drill. Our institutions of higher learning in this country seem to be rapidly coming under martial law.

The presence of Kerensky in this country has already been noted. He is one of the few living men whose name is sure to be remembered hundreds of years hence. He didn't last long in the whirlwind of the Russian Revolution, but, for better or worse, he had his day all the same. And let it be noted that he opposed the Czar's government, and even now prefers the Soviets to any return of that government.

Perhaps before this note is published the Supreme Court of Massachusetts will have spoken on the Sacco-Vanzetti case. It is the State and not these men, which is now on trial. See Professor Frankfurter's masterly article in the March issue of the *Atlantic Monthly.*

What is Russia doing in China? Treating the Chinese on a plane of equality, sustaining their nationalistic aspirations, opposing reactionary autocrats and their foreign backers. But she is doing this for selfish reasons of her own! Perhaps! But why shouldn't the United States do the same thing, for the same if no better reasons, and thus beat Russia at her own game? There is always room for more justice and fair dealing in the world, and it always pays.

Sinclair Lewis's "Elmer Gantry" will be reviewed in these columns early in April. Meanwhile, it may be remarked that, if the author of "Main Street" intended to stir up a racket, he has certainly succeeded. The novel has been shut out of the public library in Kansas City, where Mr. Lewis is said to have gathered much of his material. It will undoubtedly be banned in other places as it is now being denounced by the critics.

J. H. H.

Charles Hyacinth Loyson

(1827-1927)

This morning (March 10, 1927) I am at work in writing an article dealing with Moslem and Christian relations, and having occasion to gather a few facts concerning the life of Charles Hyacinth Loyson, better known to the world as "Pere Hyacinth," I was surprised by an interesting coincidence, finding that just a hundred years ago today Pere Hyacinth was born in the old town of Orleans, France.

Pere Hyacinth should not be forgotten, and Liberals especially should keep his memory green. He was one of the most brilliant thinkers and eloquent preachers that has lent glory to the modern pulpit, and as true knight as ever championed worthy causes at his own peril.

The bare outline of his life has a romantic interest. While yet a mere boy he entered the college of Pau, and as a student there showed signs of that marked ability which distinguished his work in later life. Upon his graduation from Pau he entered the ecclesiastical college of St. Sulpice and four years later was ordained to the priesthood of the Roman Catholic church, and shortly afterwards was made professor of theology and was commissioned to teach and lecture in several colleges.

His brilliant powers as a pulpit orator soon attracted the attention of his superiors and he was given a charge as a working priest attached to the church of St. Sulpice in Paris, where his eloquence attracted

great crowds and he became the popular preacher of the day in the French capital.

He was of a deeply religious nature and the popularity which would have turned the head of a lesser man had little interest to him compared to the deep things of the soul, and he became interested in the Carmelite order, and in 1862 he joined the Carmelites and entered their convent at Lyons. Preaching as a monk he stirred France as it had been stirred in the days of Peter the Hermit, or as Florence was moved by the pentacostal eloquence of Savanarola in the days of old. At Bordeaux, Nantes, and the old Cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris the multitudes thronged to hear this modern Chrysostom.

Argus eyed Rome, ever watchful, soon noted that there was a dangerous quality in this young man's preaching. His keen mind and crystal conscience discerned rottenness and abuses in the church which he openly and fearlessly denounced, and it was all too evident that his thinking was tinged with modernism and his sympathy tinctured with socialism.

Not heeding the mild remonstrance of his ecclesiastical superiors this young priest deliberately departed from that path which led straight to the throne of a cardinal and keeping his course true to his conscience he became plain Abbe Hyacinthe.

In 1869 the forces of religious reaction caused his excommunication as a heretic. About the same time he obtained a dispensation from his monastic vows and startled all good churchmen by a scathing denunciation of the newly promulgated doctrine of Papal infallibility. Bitterly attacked by the Ultramontane press and a viperous clergy he went into voluntary exile, coming to the United States, and was warmly welcomed by the Unitarians and other religious Liberals in this country. He was deeply moved by gratitude at the reception received here and formed a warm attachment for America which lasted as long as he lived. In 1872 this bond was strengthened when he married an American woman, a Unitarian in faith belonging to Edward Everett Hale's church in Boston.

On his return to France the storm broke with renewed energy and he was persecuted with true Gallic enthusiasm. Like Voltaire and many other French heretics and political refugees he found an asylum and freedom in Switzerland. He joined the Old Catholic movement and established a congregation in Geneva. In his congregation there were persons who were extremists who were not satisfied with the more moderate thinking and preaching of their leader and in a few years the storm having subsided, he returned to Paris and established an independent movement under the name of Eglise Gallicane. Here he and his good wife carried on a work which probably fell short of his expectations, yet it was a great factor in promoting religious liberalism in France and had a great influence in Catholic Europe.

As the years went on Pere Hyacinth became deeply interested in a matter which had received all too little attention from Christian people in general, the promotion of friendship and better understanding between the Christian and non-Christian world. In time this became an absorbing passion with both Loyson and his wife, and in December, 1894, they made that wonderful journey across North Africa into Asia Minor which Madame Loyson has recorded in her book, "To Jerusalem Through the Lands of Islam."

With an exuberant optimism they determined not only to enter the mosques, but also the homes and hearts of the great Moslem population of Northern Africa. In describing that journey Madame Loyson said:

> We had letters to persons of every shade of Christian belief and unbelief; and upon our arrival in Algiers we consulted pastors, colonists, doctors, lawyers, professors, governmental functionaries, tradesmen, agriculturists, etc., and met everywhere the same discouragement, expressed almost always in the same terms: "There is nothing to be done with the Mussulmans; but one thing is necessary, let them feel your superiority."

But the Loysons did nothing of the kind. They repeated what William Penn, John Eliot, David Livingstone and other great souls have demonstrated again and again,—Do unto others as you would others do unto you, and every time human heart will respond to human heart, and the self-evident truth will shine forth, that He hath made of one blood all nations. The journey of the Loysons was a hadj of goodwill among the Moslem people. Old conventionalities, customs, and traditions were swept aside. In the hallowed walls of ancient mosques, where the foot of woman had never desecrated the pavement, Madame Loyson was a welcome worshipper. In homes never before opened to the unbelieving Christian they were honored guests. Together with the wise men of Islam they discussed the things which both held in common without embarrassment, without restraint, without heat or rancor, and departed friends. They found deep devotion, profound piety, consecration, reverence and tolerance and charity of which Europeans never dreamed.

In writing her book Madame Loyson set forth a truthful but idealistic account of her observations, making some surprising comparisons between the pure Monotheism and rigid piety of these Moslem Moors and Arabs, and the corrupt, decadent, idolatrous Christianity in the same lands; not failing to note and do justice, however, to the faithfulness and devotion of true Christianity when it was found. You will not be apt to find this book in your public library, and it is safe to say that you may go all over the United States and not find a dozen bookstores with a copy on their shelves. The book has disappeared from circulation. It revealed a beauty and strength in Islam that the Protestant missionary had never conceded, perhaps because he had never known of its existence. To the Catholic it was an abomination to tell the world of the depths of degradation, superstition, and commercialism into which the Catholic religion had fallen in the ancient East. It is evident that one or both of the bodies mentioned have taken the old, old method of proving an alibi by destroying the evidence.

In due time Pere Hyacinth was gathered to his fathers, old and full of years. His work may not have been as important as it seemed to him, but when he preached his flaming message an old-age hierarchy shuddered and hurled its impotent bulls in vain; and when he bore the olive branch to an alien people and a rival religion he was received as a friend and brother. His church still lives; his message is borne on the wings of time to a people yet unborn; his influence pervades the mosques of Islam and the churches of Christ, and the second century of his fame is on its way.

George Linnaeus Thompson.

Indian Troops for China

China and India, though close neighbors for uncounted ages, have never been at war with each other. The relations between these two nations from the earliest times down to the present have been those of friendship and cooperation—a long unbroken record of peace with which no two neighboring countries of Europe can be said to equal. But, alas! From this year of grace India ceases to be the friend of China. The recent despatch of Indian battalions to fight Chinese Nationalists substitutes hatred for friendship, destruction for cooperation, and violence for peace.

Let it be understood, however, that India has had no free choice in the matter. The English rulers of India have dragged it into war without the slightest regard to the wishes of the Indian people. Indeed, they feel doubly humiliated in being forced to send reinforcements to China at a time when it is engaged to free itself from foreign domination. "Our helplessness becomes never so apparent," said Mahatma Gandhi, "as when Indian soldiers are shamelessly used to crush other people's freedom. Indeed, India is the key to the exploitation of Asiatic and other non-European races of the earth. She is held under bondage not merely for the sake of her own exploitation, but that of her neighbors, near and distant. Let the struggling Chinese know that our soldiers go to China only because we are, if possible, more helpless than they."

The Legislative Assembly at Delhi, wishing to put on record India's resentment at being forced to take part in military operation in China, brought forward a motion to that effect. But the British Viceroy Irwin refused to allow the motion to be considered: it was ordered to be thrown into the wastepaper basket.

The Viceroy in disallowing the Legislative Assembly even to discuss a simple motion stated that such a discussion would be prejudicial to the public interests of India. Moreover, he said that Indian forces were needed for the protection of Indian interests in Shanghai. To Indian people such an argument had the ring of sophistication: the viceregal contention was mere rubbish.

There are in Shanghai only about a thousand Indians. They have always been well treated by the Chinese. Even if the Indian merchants were in imminent danger, it was pointed out, it would be far cheaper and wiser to withdraw them and pay them due compensation than live in military aggrandisement and incur permanent loss on trade.

"Why is the government particular of Indian interests outside," asked a leader of the Indian Nationalist party, "when inside India this sentiment of the government does not exist? The fact is that the Westerners are aiming at making the Asiatic nations their slaves." Indeed according to Indian view, the English imperial policy is one of false pretense and ignoble hypocrisy.

Indians have before this been used, (wrote *The Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay) as convenient stalking horses by Britain. The woes of Transval Indians under the Boer regime made the blood of an English statesman boil. But the much worse treatment meted out to those same Indians after Boer independence had been suppressed, leaves his successors in office absolutely cold.

It is noticeable that no other parts of the Empire have yet been urged to shoulder the white man's burden in China. A Canadian military officer, who recently volunteered to serve in the British expeditionary force, has had to resign his commission in the Dominion army. Australia, which is no further off than India to the scene of operations, has not been asked to send its soldiers to China. Why, of all the British possessions in the world, should India alone be impressed into an imperialistic war?

India is not, however, taking this unholy business resignedly and complacently. Plans are afoot to start a boycott which will bring the British war lords to their senses. Meanwhile, protest meetings are being held throughout the length and breadth of the country. The following resolutions, which were passed at Madras, may be considered as typical of the sentiments which are now sweeping over India:

1. This public meeting of the citizens of Madras desires to express the sympathy of the Indian people with the great Chinese Nation in their struggle for political and economic freedom.

2. This meeting strongly condemns the action of the Government of India in sending Indian troops for intervention in China and declares India's sense of humiliation that her resources should be used in the attempt to enslave a great and friendly Asiatic Nation.

3. This meeting calls upon all elected members of the Indian Legislatures to signify their condemnation of the arbitrary use of Indian troops in a conflict for which India is not responsible and with which she has no sympathy.

4. This meeting strongly condemns the arbitrary and unjust action of the Governor-General of India in disallowing motions to discuss this important matter, thereby demonstrating once more the hollowness of their oft repeated pleas for cooperation.

5. This meeting further calls on all citizens of India to dissociate themselves from the policy of the Government of India by all proper forms of demonstrations, propaganda and protest and declares the refusal of the Indian people to assent to the use of a single Indian soldier, a single Indian civilian, a single rupee, a single railroad, ship or harbor in India for any sort of military purpose in China.

What India thinks of its present part in the Chinese imbroglio may be easily gathered from a glance at the Indian press. Says *The Mahratta* of Poona:

India has given unmistakable proofs of her general sympathy with the Chinese Nationalists who are out to break the fetters of foreign domination in China. India knows by experience the evils and pangs of living in the hell of slavery and it is but natural that she should profoundly wish that the same fate should not befall the lot of any other Asiatic country. There is no end therefore to her national humiliation and insult, when she finds that, in spite of her wishes and expressed opposition, her own troops, composed of the sons of her soil, should be despatched to China to forge one more link in the fetters of her future slavery.

The Tribune of Lahore observes:

India is a member of the League of Nations. Her representatives attend and participate in the Imperial Conference. In no other part of the Empire which has either of these privileges, could the Government have taken the step which the Government of India have taken in this case without the consent of the Legislature or at least its leaders. In India not only has not the consent of the Legislature been sought in the first instance but it is not even to be permitted to discuss the Government's action. And why? Because the interests of public peace would be jeopardised by such discussion!

In the course of a long editorial, *The Swarajya* of Madras remarks:

China is not our enemy. She is our neighbor who has rendered us no injury, but excites on the contrary our warmest sympathy for the cruel circumstances in which she is enmeshed,

and the grim fight for freedom into which she is putting forth all her energies. Had India been free or had she the freedom to act as she chose, she would have, if intervening at all in Chinese affairs, rallied on the side of Chinese liberty. But now, unhappily she is swept off her feet in the vortex of Imperialist intrigues and forced against her will to take part in a campaign revolting to her finest sentiments, helpless to avert what she detests. The phenomenon of Indian troops reserved for battle in China is the supreme humiliation of Indian political subjection to Britain, for it symbolises the profound world tragedy of subjects set to keep others enslaved, almost at the point of the bayonet as it were, of one supreme directing power.

The public opinion in India seems to have crystallized to the conviction that India is in the grip of a militaristic imperialism which is not only sapping its own resources and vitality, but is a menace to the peace of the Orient. In almost every imperialistic war in China, Tibet, Afghanistan, Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, India had been drained of its men and money during the last three-quarters of a century. In all these mad enterprises India has been the "goat." "Without self-government the Indians can never get rid of their present economic drain, and the consequent impoverishment, misery and degradation." Self-government is the only remedy for India's wrongs, and a guarantee of the safety of other Asian countries now under the ominous shadow of British imperialism.

Political Science Dept., SUDHINDRA BOSE.
State University of Iowa.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyrighted, 1927)

PART II—CHAPTER XXIX

"Return Soon"

From Madras I proceeded to Calcutta where I found myself hemmed in by difficulties. I knew no one there. So I took a room in the Great Eastern Hotel. Here I became acquainted with Mr. Ellerthorpe, a representative of the *Daily Telegraph.* He invited me to the Bengal Club where he was staying. He did not then realize that an Indian could not be taken to the drawing room of the Club. Having discovered the restriction, he took me to his room. He expressed his sorrow regarding this prejudice of the local Englishmen, and apologized to me for not having been able to take me to the drawing-room.

I had, of course, to see Surendranath Bannerjea, the "Idol of Bengal." When I met him he was surrounded by a number of friends. He said:

"I am afraid people will take no interest in your work. As you know our difficulties here are by no means few. But you must try as best you can. You will have to enlist the sympathy of Maharajas. Mind you meet the representatives of the British Indian Association. You should meet Raja Sir Pyarimohan Mukerji and Maharaja Tagore. Both are liberal-minded and take a fair share in public work."

I met these gentlemen but without any success. Both gave me a cold reception and said it was no easy thing to call a public meeting in Calcutta, and if anything could be done, it would practically all depend on Surendranath Bannerjea.

I saw that my task was becoming more and more difficult. I called at the office of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika.* The gentleman whom I met there took me to be a wandering Jew. Bangabasi went even one better. The Editor kept me waiting for an hour. He had evidently many interviewers, but he would not so much as look at me even when he had disposed of the rest. On my venturing to broach my subject after the long wait, he said: "Don't you see our hands are full? There is no end to the number of visitors like you. You had better go. I am not disposed to listen to you." For a moment I felt offended, but I quickly understood the editor's position. I had heard of the fame of Bangabasi. I could see that there was a regular stream of visitors there. And they were all people acquainted with him. His paper had no lack of topics to discuss, and South Africa was hardly known then.

However serious a grievance may be in the eyes of the man who suffers from it, he will be but one of the numerous people invading an editor's office, each with a grievance of his own. How is he to meet them all? Moreover, the aggrieved party assumes that the editor is possessed of a lot of power. Only the editor will know that his power can hardly travel beyond the threshold of his office. But I was not discouraged. I kept on seeing editors of other papers. As usual I met the Anglo-Indian editors also. The *Statesman* and the *Englishman* realized the importance of the question. I gave them long interviews and they published them in full.

Mr. Sanders, Editor of the *Englishman,* claimed me as his own. He placed his office and paper at my disposal. He even allowed me the liberty of making whatever changes I liked in the leading article he had written on the situation whose proof he sent me in advance. It is no exaggeration to say that a friendship grew up between us. He promised to render me all the help he could and he carried out the promise to the letter and kept on his correspondence with me until he was taken seriously ill.

Throughout my life I have had the privilege of many such friendships, which have sprung up quite unexpectedly. What Mr. Sanders liked in me was my freedom from exaggeration and my devotion to truth. He subjected me to a searching cross-examination before he began to sympathize with my cause, and he saw that I had spared neither will nor pains to place before him an impartial statement of the case even of the White man in South Africa and to appreciate it.

My experience has shown me that we win justice quickest by rendering justice to the other party.

The unexpected help of Mr. Sanders had begun to encourage me to think that I might succeed, after all, in holding a public meeting in Calcutta, when I received the following cable from Durban: "Parliament opens January. Return soon."

So I addressed a letter to the Press in which I explained why I had to leave Calcutta so abruptly, and set off for Bombay. Before starting I wired to the Bombay agent of Dada Abdulla & Co. to arrange for my passage by the first possible boat to South Africa. Dada Abdulla had just then purchased the steamship *"Courland"* and he insisted on my traveling on that boat, offering to take me and my family free of charge. I thankfully accepted the offer and in the beginning of December I set sail a second time for South Africa, now with my wife and two sons and the only son of my widowed sister. Another steamship, *"Naderi,"* also sailed for Durban at the same time. The agents of the Company were Dada Abdulla & Co. The total number these boats carried must have been from eight to ten hundred passengers. Half of these were going to the Transvaal.

M. K. GANDHI.

(*Translated from Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai.*)

END OF PART II.

"Determinism and Christianity"

[A Correspondence with John Dewey]

[On March 8th last, UNITY published an article on "Determinism and Christianity," by Gerald M. Spring, of Williams College, which aroused great interest and some opposition among our readers. This article was sent to John Dewey, and his reply opened a correspondence which enabled Mr. Spring to elaborate and clarify his thesis. Knowing of the interest of our readers, we are publishing the correspondence herewith, thanks to the courtesy of the writers. In surveying this discussion, we feel inclined to emphasize that fatalism is not in any way necessarily implied by determinism; and that, since the word "determinism" is so easily misunderstood, the intellectual basis of the tolerance, for which Mr. Spring so strongly pleads, may quite as well be found in agnosticism. In a personal letter, Mr. Spring adds that he never meant to imply that hatred caused wars, but that wars, which have economic causes, are rendered possible only by the present facility of arousing mass-hatred."—Editor.]

I

2880 Broadway, N. Y. C.
April 20, 1926.

Dear Mr. Spring:

I have read your article with interest. The topic is however one which it is practically impossible to comment upon. It has so many ramifications that it is not, in my judgment, possible to deal with the subject except as a corollary of a general philosophy. In particular I don't think freedom can be profitably discussed under the head of the freedom of the will. The "will" is a highly vague and undetermined concept.

Specifically, your statement that character is determined by heredity and environment, while it seems clear, assumes a dualism which I do not think is justified between "character" on one side and heredity and environment on the other. Heredity is part of the self, not something operating on it from without, and there is always an integration of self and environment.

Your statement that acceptance of determinism would do away with hatred does not appeal to me. By the very doctrine of determinism, we might go on being determined to hate, in spite of its illogical character. Your argument seems to imply that our intelligence is free to be actuated by logical consideration.

Yours truly,

John Dewey.

II

21 Southworth St., Williamstown, Mass.
October 16, 1926.

Dear Dr. Dewey:

I have long intended thanking you for your letter in regard to "Determinism and Christianity." Today my purpose is also to ask your permission to quote from your letter as I might have occasion to do so. I am very grateful to you for reading the essay and for giving me your opinion since it has been helpful in clarifying my ideas. I agree with much of what you said, but shall permit myself a brief defense of my thesis.

The terminology, at which the criticism in the first part of your letter seems to be chiefly directed, is in my opinion justified because of the practical purpose of the article. I am well aware that "heredity is part of the self, not something operating on it from without," and that there is "an integration of self and environment." There is no dualism between "character" on one side and "heredity and environment" on the other and I recognize how faulty is the terminology of my article from a technically philosophical viewpoint. But I shall try to show that determinism (and particularly the kind advocated in the essay) is not thereby invalidated. What leads me to make this attempt to convince you is that your books seem to indicate an interest in philosophy as it has a bearing on life.

The fundamental thesis of my article is that we are intellectually not justified in hating "individuals" or "collectivities." The emotional force of hatred can be regulated and aimed in a socially useful direction; we may hate baneful tendencies whenever and wherever we recognize them, but our custom of allowing our hatreds to crystalize in the way we do is not warranted. Strife must inevitably continue and so must the emotion of hatred in some form but the time will come when one sign of an educated man will be that he does not hate in the time-honored way. We simply know too little about the forces that make for different kinds of conduct. The tremendous difficulty we experience is in our attempts to define such concepts as "will," "personality," "character," etc., and when we try to separate the "individual" from "heredity and environment"—this is precisely what you pointed out to me in your letter—bears me out in this.

This kind of determinism seems to me to be an intellectual basis for Christian tolerance. You would probably agree with what I said about the danger of fatalism and that the individual, whom this philosophy has rendered tolerant toward others, should avoid brooding over the relativity of his freedom.

Now as to your main objection; I did not mean to imply that human intelligence is in general free to be actuated by logical considerations, though some intellectuals are undoubtedly to some extent thus influenced. It is very evident, as you say, "by the very doctrine of determinism" that "we might be determined to hate, in spite of its illogical character." But that does not in any way weaken my thesis: we are influenced in our behavior by considerations to which our minds are become accustomed, whether these are logical

or illogical. The chief proposition contained in my essay is that a greater number of people could in their youth be trained according to a philosophy of tolerance. The Christian teachings, though they breed a spirit of tolerance have failed to make the mass of mankind tolerant and this is partly because they are in themselves difficult to understand and partly because the worshipper's attention has in so great a measure been taken by ritual. It is argued that with an intellectual basis worked out as it is in my essay people will be inclined to take it more seriously. When I say "trained according to a philosophy of tolerance" I do not mean to suggest that this or any other kind of a philosophy could be taught successfully to the young, but merely that anyone with such enlightened ideas is likely to reflect something of them in his behavior. Thus parents and educators could give a more tolerant and hence a more intelligent environment. It is not important for all or even for an overwhelming proportion of the young people to understand this philosophy in all its implications. Some will grow to understand it, others and in all probability the greater number will not. But a group of young people growing up amidst men and women who are intelligently tolerant and who show this in their behavior and in their utterances will show the effects of this environment. Of the millions who are brought up as Roman Catholics and who show throughout their lives a Roman Catholic mentality how few ever comprehend the philosophy of Roman Catholicism! It is proposed by placing this philosophy before intellectuals and other thinking people to increase the number of centers where young people can grow up with a tolerant environment from the start. The philosophy is not to be systematically taught, but is to be readily accessible to those who could understand and profit by it. It is desirable that more and more of the younger generation should live in the atmosphere of such a philosophy, since the habit-reactions started in early childhood are so important and count even when a mental grasp of the underlying philosophy is never attained. I could perhaps make my meaning clearer by some illustrations, but prefer to close now, having made my statement as concisely as possible. Please have the kindness to write me whether or not I may quote you and of course I shall be very grateful for any comment you would be willing to make on the contents of this letter.

Thanking you again for your kindness, I am,
Sincerely yours,
Gerald M. Spring.

III

Columbia University, in the City of New York
Department of Philosophy
October 19, 1926.

My dear Mr. Spring:

Thank you for your letter of the 16th. It makes your position much clearer, and I am happy to find myself in agreement with it, if I get its implications. That we are not intellectually justified in our hates, individual and collective, and that proper methods would "determine" the impulse of hatred to take another form I heartily believe and I hope you are going to continue your efforts in this direction.

Sincerely yours,
John Dewey.

Preying Upon Society

The socialist has a strong talking point when he lays bare the social consequences of the greed for profits which our present economic order appears to cultivate. Once it seizes its victims there seems no lengths to which they will not go. An unreckoned volume of our social evils are bred of this zeal to roll up profits, and more profits.

It was the commercialized liquor traffic which compelled resort to the rigid and uncompromising 18th amendment and Volstead act. Prohibition leaders themselves, Mr. Wheeler in particular, have asserted that the campaign for absolute prohibition would have been impossible of success if greedy brewers and distillers had not recklessly violated laws and corrupted makers and administrators of laws in yielding to their passion for gain. Some time ago a certain distiller concluded a long and vigorously pressed argument in assertion of his right to engage in the liquor traffic in an open market, with the remark that of course he and his brother, his partner in the business, were not such fools as themselves to drink the whiskey they manufactured nor to allow its use in their homes.

Today the strength of prohibition does not lie with the "bone dries." Multitudes who still retain a memory of how consciencelessly liquor manufacturers and vendors corrupted public officials, and showed themselves utterly unresponsive to law and reason, are ardent to uphold the strictest prohibitory legislation, though they themselves would prefer the moderate use of liquor and believe that similar liberty should be allowed others. They support an extreme prohibition policy simply because they know that liquor dealers cannot be trusted with any legal status whatever.

Dealers in tobacco are already over-reaching after the same fashion. The anti-tobacco campaign is steadily gaining of late years, though relatively few men are willing to forego the use of tobacco personally. Increasing multitudes of these are so outraged by the avidity of cigarette manufacturers to force their sales, that a surge of sentiment is rolling up. These profit-makers, manufacturers and advertisers, are so eager for gain that they will exhaust every means of corrupting the whole adolescent population, especially of the nation's high schools. There remains no question in any unprejudiced physician's or teacher's or social worker's mind that the smoking of cigarettes is permanently harmful to the adolescent brain and nervous system. Yet the cigarette campaign is organized with the definite object of corrupting our entire adolescent population, weakening their nervous systems irrevocably, so as to insure for the future a vast army of habitual tobacco-users who will replenish cigar and cigarette manufacturers' coffers.

The campaign against crime is uncovering more of this sinister passion to sacrifice life to commercial profit. A judge of a New York Supreme Court has recently made this studied declaration: "If we can do away with the indiscriminate manufacture and sale of

firearms, which can be concealed upon the person, I contend that we shall do away with 90 per cent of crimes of violence." Every reader of the magazines has observed the avidity of the advertising campaign to work up and maintain traffic in privately owned firearms. The householder is made to feel that his own and his families' lives depend upon his keeping deadly weapons within instant reach. The traffic is so zealously pressed, and the sales, as the judge declares, are so indiscriminate among young as well as old, that all of us would be armed, if these profit-makers had their way.

There are several powerful forces working to maintain and increase the volume of crime over which we profess ourselves so greatly alarmed. The estimate of the judge quoted may be an exaggeration. But when you add to the advertising campaign of manufacturers of firearms, the feverish activity of surety companies and burglary insurance agents, we have powerful forces indeed working for the maintenance of crime. For any discerning citizen can understand how essential crime is to the prosperity of these commercialized "guardians" of the public's lives and limbs. Surety business is today far too lucrative for surety companies to view with complacency the efficient administration of criminal laws. A thoroughly competent policing of our communities would prove disastrous to vast structures of our commercial scheme.

A sound sociology discovers little or no social benefit in the elaborate and expensive detective and insurance service against crime which has, especially of late years, been built up under commercial auspices. In the final analysis it is a social bane. A modicum of the social energy and financial outlay required to build up and maintain this system, if it were expended in the sincere effort to make and keep the community's police and public administration of law thoroughly efficient, would insure far greater security and prove of far more wholesome social benefit.

We will not ever know what ails us under the apparently uncontrollable wave of crime, not to speak of curing its evils, until we make a careful reckoning of what these powerful commercial agencies are doing to cultivate the criminal spirit. They live upon crime. They rejoice in its increase with the very breath which they expend in declaiming against it. An intelligent and consistent program of eradicating crime would put so many commercial enterprises out of business that it is futile to believe that crime can be cured or even seriously checked so long as we thus allow ourselves to be "advertised" into complicity. Greed is rolling up new social problems which, it would seem, can be finally solved only by further application of the principle of prohibition. JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE.

New York City.

The Study Table

Government in Our American Colleges

This book* should have been reviewed long ago, when it first appeared, but it is still a comparatively new book, and will long remain a timely book. For it treats authoritatively and prophetically a subject of great importance in American life, of the very existence of which, to say nothing of its seriousness, most of us are utterly oblivious.

Prof. Kirkpatrick's theme is the government of the American college and university. This government, he claims, is undemocratic, thus wholly inconsistent with the spirit and purpose of the nation, and inevitably subversive of the kind of education required for the safeguarding of the nation's higher interests. By democracy in an educational institution the author means the vesting of all powers of control and direction in the hands primarily of the teachers and resident officers, and secondarily of the students. Nothing of this sort now prevails in America. On the contrary, our colleges are all of them governed by absentee boards of trustees, through the all-powerful agency of an executive officer of the board in each case known as the president. It was not always so! Thus, in a series of opening chapters on "academic beginnings" in this country, Professor Kirkpatrick shows how, in the two oldest American colleges, Harvard and William and Mary, "the teachers and resident officers were recognized by the community and by the political powers as having the right to hold their own property, to make their own rules, and to determine their own membership." This was a system of organization directly copied from English example. The third American college, Yale, abandoned this excellent practise for reasons peculiar to itself at the time, and thus established a new precedent which has little by little become universal throughout the land. Today the idea of democratic self-control on the part of the college community has practically disappeared. Other countries, politically less democratic than our own, have retained or developed the principle of local self-dependency—see the Canadian and especially the Latin American universities. But with us the boards of trustees are omnipotent, and, through the delegation of their powers, the presidents. These executive officials, the college presidents, are probably the most potent, the most autocratic, the most undemocratic figures in American life today. "Captains of Erudition," as Thorstein Veblen has called them, they and "their boards of directors have, in quite recent times," says our author, "acted the part of industrial captains who are restrained by fear neither of God nor of organized labor."

Here in our higher institutions of learning, in other words, we have a fully-developed system of governmental absolutism. What this means to education, and to the ideals of American life generally, is shown by Professor Kirkpatrick in a series of keenly analytical chapters, illustrated by specific data drawn from such recent academic history as that of Amherst and Clark University. Kirkpatrick is no friend to the existing system; on the contrary, he is in full revolt against it—an academic "red" if there ever was one! Therefore he rejoices in such experiments as that of President Morgan at Antioch, applauds the stirrings of unrest among student bodies, and works out his own program for the better day. Details of this program are comparatively unimportant. What he demands is home rule for the college—which means the dethronement of the president and the overthrow of trustees and overseers. The president, if he survives

*"The American College and Its Rulers," by J. E. Kirkpatrick, Ph.D. Published by the New Republic, Inc.

at all, must serve as nothing more than a kind of chairman of faculty and student body which shall themselves be clothed with power; and the board of trustees must act simply as a kind of finance committee for the safeguarding of funds and property. The academic communities, that is, must be enfranchised.

Some day, early or late, the responsibility for its own affairs will be placed where in reason and justice it belongs, and where in experience it must rest, if our educational institutions are to educate.

Professor Kirkpatrick's book is the most important book which has appeared in its field since Veblen's "The Higher Learning in America." It is no mere cry of anger and revolt. Rather is it a sober, well-informed, thoroughly scientific study of a pressing problem, with a constructive, statesmanlike suggestion for its solution. Yet it cost the author his position—and therefore demonstrated beyond all the power of its own convincing pages, the validity of his thesis. Published in the inexpensive, handsomely printed, paper-covered "New Republic" edition, the volume is easily accessible, and should be read and pondered not merely by educators but by citizens everywhere.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

The Jewish Problem

As implied in the title,* the theme of the book is twofold; first, a woman's struggle for the attainment of a career and of economic independence, and second, the problem of Anti-Semitism. Though the feminist problem occupies about three-fourths of the bulk of the book, it is really subordinate to the other question of race prejudice.

Woman's development and the extension of her personality beyond the home constitute only a phase in the growth of democracy with its recognition of human worth. Although very stirring, Leah Morton's story of her triumph over sex prejudices is not unlike that of any other woman who in those pioneer days refused to shine merely through the reflected glory of her husband.

The gist of the second thesis hinges on the following quotation:

I had thought that by marrying a Christian, I, who was in my heart no longer a Jew, would be free. I was to find not only that on that day of my father's death but twice again how mistaken I had been—I know I am a Jew. I am that before everything.

It is with some diffidence that I venture to comment on this part of the book which seems to me to be replete with material that might well enter into the domain of the psychiatrist, the healer of sick souls. To begin with, we have a young girl reared in a strictly orthodox, Jewish home, where all the traditional customs of Judaism were punctiliously observed, if sometimes not according to the spirit, at least always according to the letter. A Gentile's presence in the home was anathema, for every dish touched by him was defiled and had to be thrown away. And so on—the entire childhood was such as to impose an emotional strain on a fairly sensitive and susceptible person. Then the writer takes us through a gamut of experiences in social work, a field then unexplored and beset with problems and prejudices. Her work must be carried on away from home. This absence from home precipitates her assimilation into her new environment, culminating in her marriage to Dr. Morton, a social worker and a Gentile. The sporadic, yet intimate glimpses of Dr. Morton redound much to his favor. The book then moves rapidly from one vicissitude to another, until the final crash to her emotional life comes in the death of her father. Her marriage had cut her off from her family, and particularly from her father to whom she felt bound by ties of childhood memories. Not once had her father inquired about her nor expressed the slightest wish to see his daughter since her apostasy. But on his death he had left a letter the substance of which I shall quote here in full.

He reminded me of the women in the Bible who had married outside of their faith. Esther had been one of these. But they had gone outside Judaism only to help Judaism.

I had gone out because of my ignorance, because of the land where the Jew was robbed of his most precious possession, his racial integrity, by the soft words of those who pretended to be his friends. But they were really his worst enemies, because they took from him that which alone kept him worthy of his heritage—the remembrance of the historic tragedy of his people.

The second great crash comes many years later when her daughter is refused admission to a college where Leah Morton had occasionally lectured and where her books were being used in the course of study, the patent reason being that one of her parents was Jewish, and that the Jewish quota had already been filled. Of all manifestations of race prejudice hitherto encountered this was really "the most unkindest cut of all."

The reader is vaguely conscious of the smarting of an open wound, for a feeling of bitterness pervades the entire book. True, the experience is such as to try men's souls. Anti-Semitism is doubly deplorable in that it inflicts wounds that will not close without a scar.

The writer's despair over the problem is born of an impatient desire to find a quick short-cut solution. Our age fairly seethes with perplexing problems. The Jews are not the only sufferers. Think of the plight of the educated Negro, the radical thinker, the much bemoaned Catholic—all victims of unjust prejudice. The problems are complex and admit of no easy solution.

It hardly seems plausible nor consistent that one who so convincingly traces her development as an individual to her gradual weaning away from the narrowness of her people should wish to return to it because of the staggering blow of the reality of Anti-Semitism.

There are many proposed roads to justice, but the only one that can be safely commended is the road that leads to education with its humanizing and democratizing effects, and with its obliterations of all artificial lines of differences.

Meanwhile, what consolation can we offer to the writer at present, since the proposed road is a long and arduous one? But here I must close with a quotation from an article by Felix Adler on the Conquest of Prejudice.

And now one last word. Some will say, how can I bear the intolerable prejudice? It is the indignity of it that wounds—the being rated as an inferior, meeting the ruthless rebuff, the inhuman rebuff, although I know that I do not deserve to be thus rated. Well, if you know that you are not deserving of it, you need not accept their rating. The iron need not pierce your soul if you are well armored in the impersonal attitude. Even more, can you not make the experience the means of enhancing your own spiritual development, especially by expelling from your nature the same evil tendencies that operate in others and cause you pain?

ESTHER P. SPITZER.

*"A Woman and a Jew," by Mrs. Leah Morton. J. N. Sears & Company, N. Y.

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, INC.

The L. I. D. (League for Industrial Democracy) is a membership society organized nationally and locally to promote "education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit." The League adheres to this educational purpose. Its primary function is in the realm of ideas and information, though at all times it seeks to relate ideas and information to concrete situations.

No other organization is doing this educational work. Other organizations may deal with particular phases of a problem, as, for example, Public Ownership, cooperation, or the right of Labor to organize. The L. I. D. tries to bring into the field of thought and discussion all phases of the movement, conscious and unconscious, toward a social order which acknowledges the supremacy of human need rather than private profit as its organizing principle. It is dealing with one of those great generalizations by which, as Dean Inge well says, men live. But it is trying to deal with that generalization in a scientific spirit, attempting to test it by the facts, to substitute knowledge for assertion and reasoned conviction for blind acceptance of popular slogans.

During 1926, Paul Blanshard, the League's field secretary, visited, in behalf of the society, 66 colleges and addressed some 38,500 students. He also gave 58 addresses before city groups with an aggregate attendance of over 13,000. The value of this work by the League's field secretary can scarcely be estimated.

Norman Thomas, one of the two Executive Directors of the League, besides directing the L. I. D. editorial service and actively participating in the administrative activities of the League, delivered 79 addresses before 5,700 college students in 25 colleges and schools. He spoke at 7 other college conferences and at 100 other meetings before some 40,000 citizens, in addition to scores of addresses at political and strike meetings.

Harry W. Laidler, the co-executive director, while devoting most of his effort to administrative and research work, visited 16 colleges throughout the year and addressed some 2,600 students, and likewise spoke before scores of city gatherings.

In the fall, Kenneth Lindsay of Oxford, a parliamentary candidate of the British Labor party, spoke in 23 colleges in New England and the Middle Atlantic States, addressing over 4,000 students. Dr. Nellie Seeds, Dr. William Pickens, Captain Paxton Hibben and others visited 10 colleges and universities and addressed 3,000 students at meetings arranged by the League. Scores of other lecturers also spoke before the chapters and affiliated college and city groups of the League during the spring and fall seasons.

The League, however, did not confine its activities to lecture work. It continued its effective editorial service twice a month to about 130 labor and farm papers, under the direction of Norman Thomas. As a new and important departure in L. I. D. publications, it published during the year a 230 page book on *New Tactics in Social Conflict*, edited by Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas. This volume contains the proceedings of the June Conference of the L. I. D., but is so edited as to have a narrative value of its own. The League likewise issued H. S. Raushenbush's *The People's Fight for Coal and Power;* Stuart Chase's *Are Radicals Crazy?* and *Twenty Years of Social Pioneering,* a pamphlet describing the League's twenty years of educational effort and that of its predecessor, the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. The League further secured new editions of Norman Thomas' *What Is Industrial Democracy?* Harry W. Laidler's *How America Lives,* and Stuart Chase's *Challenge of Waste.* Its sale of its other pamphlets — Harry F. Ward's *Profit Motive in Industry,* Thomas' *Challenge of War,* and Laidler's *Roads to Freedom, Public Ownership Here and Abroad* and *How Canada Manages Its Electrical Energy*—has steadily continued. It regularly prepared and mailed to its membership its popular *News-Bulletins.*

The League organized during the year, in cooperation with the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Committee on Strikers' Relief. This Committee, under the secretaryship of Clarina Michaelson and the chairmanship of Mr. Thomas, has been instrumental in raising for the Passaic strikers more than $25,000 and has secured scores of speakers to address meetings. It has also assisted in relief work in a number of other strikes.

The Committee on Coal and Power, organized at the initiative of the League in the fall of 1925, has been continuing its work of investigation under the direction of H. S. Raushenbush, secretary. It issued a number of valuable reports on the power situation, particularly in New York, during the year, and is planning to complete its full report by the middle of 1927.

The Committee for Justice to China, set up by the League in 1925, as a result of Paul Blanshard's visit to China,

Correspondence

Tawney's "Rise of Capitalism"

Editor of UNITY:

I have read with great interest the review of Mr. Tawney's book by John Haynes Holmes, and there are few men alive whom I respect more than I do the writer of the review.

I do not know on what grounds it can be said that Capitalism occupies a more important place than religion, in our present civilization. Protestantism allowed the individual to have an opinion on the Bible. Gradually it became permissible to have an opinion on a political question and later an opinion on industrial questions. With this liberty capitalism grew and flourished and flourishes today, but religion flourishes more. It is gradually becoming more rational and entering more actively into the daily thought and life of man. The ethics of Christianity are practiced. The Poor Law in England relieves immediately every person who is in want of food. Out relief is sufficient to pay also for clothing and rent. The Union Workhouse gives shelter to every man, woman and child who does not prefer some other residence. The dole provides ample for those out of work. I am intimately acquainted with a great many of the capitalist class and also with the labor class, and the rule of most of those I know is to work "for the Honor of Man and the Glory of God."

ARNOLD LUPTON.

London, England.

Letters of Cheer

I

Editor of UNITY:

Enclosed please find one dollar in stamps to cover cost of the ten copies of UNITY which I ordered two days ago.

It seems to me that the March 14th number of UNITY is one of the most interesting we have ever had. How encouraging to read about Karl Robinson, Franz Lederer *and Bill Simpson!* I have read the first part of the latter's story over and over again and I bow, no, I *kneel* in reverence before him.

Bless you, dear UNITY, for holding these Christs up before the world. I am reminded of the words: "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me."

LYDIA NILSSON STJERNBERG.

New York, N. Y.

II

Editor of UNITY:

It is a great encouragement to see such a publication as yours going in such a city—battling for peace, justice and fair dealing on the International platform. I have been hoping to get new subscribers for you for some time. Recently I have been in poor health, unable to do things I wish to do.

With deep appreciation and sincere wishes for your greater success.

Faithfully yours,

Chicago, Ill. S. H. MORI.

III

Editor of UNITY:

Please discontinue my subscription to UNITY. Not that I don't like it. I do! Good luck!

Buffalo, N. Y. D. P. H.

has also continued to function under the chairmanship of Harry F. Ward.

During the year also Mr. Laidler completed his *History of Socialist Thought* and, in cooperation with Inez Pollak, began a study of Modern Capitalism in America, while Mina Weisenberg assisted Messrs. Thomas and Laidler in the compilation of reports on Housing and on Government Shipping.

In late June, the League held an intensely interesting conference at Camp Tamiment, Pa., on "Newer Defenses of Capitalism in America." Some 270 guests were present.

During the Christmas holidays the League held its Annual Intercollegiate Conference in Philosophy Hall, in New York City (December 28-30). This conference was devoted primarily to the question as to the opportunities open to college students and college graduates in the cause of democracy and social progress.

At the conclusion of 1926, the League had student representatives in more than 100 colleges. The League has city chapters in New York, with a membership of 500 and in Washington. A group is being formed in Chicago and organizations in other cities are affiliated with the League.

The League Officers

The officers and members of the Board of Directors elected in the spring election of 1926 were: Robert Morss Lovett, president; John Haynes Holmes, Vladimir Karapetoff, James H. Maurer, Vida D. Scudder, vice-presidents; Stuart Chase, treasurer; Norman Thomas, chairman of the Board of Directors; Harry W. Laidler, secretary. Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas were also chosen Executive Directors of the League; Paul Blanshard, field secretary; H. S. Raushenbush, secretary of the Committee on Coal and Power, and Bertha Dubrow, assistant to the Executive Directors.

Membership

Membership in the League consists of regular and auxiliary members. Regular membership consists of the following classes: Active members ($3.00 a year); contributing members ($5.00 and $10.00 a year); sustaining members ($25.00 a year, and more); life members ($100.00); individual student members ($1.00 a year).

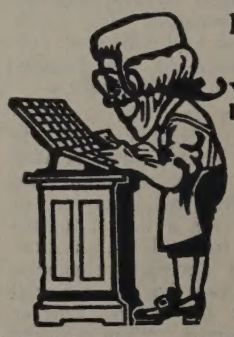
These membership groups approve of "the principle of production for use and not for profit, the principle of social ownership and democratic management of industry." They are privileged to vote for the members of the Board of Directors of the League.

Auxiliary members paying $3.00 or more a year do not commit themselves to anything except a general belief in the need for the educational work of the L. I. D. Regular and auxiliary members receive the various Bulletins and pamphlets published by the League and are notified of its meetings and conferences.

League for Industrial Democracy
Educational Building
70 Fifth Avenue—New York City

AMERICAN EDITORS GOING TO EUROPE

Thirty American editors will be the guests of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace on a trip to Europe next summer, according to a recent announcement made by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of the Endowment. The editors, who will sail from New York July 16 accompanied by Henry S. Haskins, assistant to the director of the Division of Intercourse and Education, will study various institutions for international cooperation in Europe, and get a fresh insight into actual conditions there. Editors from all parts of the country are included. They were invited without regard to their religion, race, or political affiliation. The itinerary includes London, Paris, The Hague, Berlin, Prague, Munich, and Geneva. The party returns to New York October 3.



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